

## Message Text

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22-11

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 OMB-01 ACDA-05 IO-10 /084 W

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P R 141003Z NOV 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE PRIORITY 4884

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA JAPAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 16368

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, MARR, JA

SUBJECT: SYMPOSIUM RECOMMENDS DSP SECURITY POLICY SHIFT

SUMMARY. DSP SPONSORED SYMPOSIUM ON NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS RECOMMENDED NOVEMBER 8 THAT PARTY CHANGE ITS DEFENSE POLICY FROM PHASED DISSOLUTION OF SECURITY TREATY WITH "EMERGENCY STATIONING" OF US FORCES IN JAPAN TO SUPPORT FOR TREATY WITH CONTINUED STATIONING OF US FORCES HERE "FOR TIME BEING." ALTHOUGH RECOMMENDATION IS NOT OFFICIAL PARTY POLICY, WE SUSPECT THAT POPULAR AND MEDIA PERCEPTION HAS ALREADY CHANGED AS A RESULT OF SYMPOSIUM PUBLICITY. IF AND WHEN OFFICIAL DSP POLICY CHANGES, LDP WILL HAVE OPPOSITION PARTY ALLY FOR FIRST TIME IN YEARS IN ITS SUPPORT OF SECURITY TREATY AND US FORCES HERE. END SUMMARY.

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1. DSP SPONSORED SYMPOSIUM OF EIGHT PARTY OFFICIALS,

LED BY DSP VICE CHAIRMAN RYOSAKU SASAKI, AND TEN ACADEMICS MET NOVEMBER 7-8 TO CONSIDER REVISION OF PARTY'S SECURITY POLICY. AFTER LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS BASED ON POSITION PAPER PREPARED BY DSP INTERNATIONAL BUREAU DIRECTOR KATSU KAWAMURA, SYMPOSIUM CONCLUDED THAT "FOR TIME BEING, DSP SHOULD RECOGNIZE FUNCTION OF EXISTING MUTUAL SECURITY (MST) AND WORK TO IMPROVE ITS OPERATION." THE SHORTHAND INTERPRETATION OF THIS IS DSP SUPPORT FOR THE STATUS QUO: THE MST AND CONTINUED STATIONING OF US FORCES HERE, A SIGNIFICANT STEP BEYOND THE PARTY'S EARLIER POLICY OF PHASED DISSOLUTION OF THE MST WITH "EMERGENCY STATIONING" OF US FORCES IN JAPAN.

2. REGARDING STEPS TO "IMPROVE" MST OPERATION, THE SYMPOSIUM REPORT CALLED FOR MORE VIGOROUS GOJ INSISTENCE ON PRIOR CONSULTATIONS UNDER MST IN SITUATIONS LIKE MAYAGUEZ INCIDENT. REPORT DID, HOWEVER, ALSO CALL FOR CREATION OF CLOSER US-GOJ CONSULTATIVE STRUCTURE "AT POLITICAL LEVEL" TO MEET POSSIBLE EMERGENCY SITUATION IN KOREA. IN THIS CONTEXT, IT CALLED FOR REVIEW OF SECURITY CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE (SCC) STRUCTURE. (COMMENT: WE UNDERSTAND THAT DSP (AND OTHERS ELSEWHERE) FEEL THAT SCC COMPOSITION IS UNEQUAL WITH JAPANESE CABINET MEMBERS MATCHED WITH UNEQUAL COUNTERPARTS.) SYMPOSIUM ALSO URGED "REVIEW" OF STATUS OF FORCES AGREEMENT (WITH NO FURTHER ELABORATION) AND RETURN OF ALL US BASE LAND NOT ESSENTIAL FOR OPERATIONS, ESPECIALLY THAT IN OKINAWA.

3. SYMPOSIUM RECOMMENDATIONS WERE REVIEWED BY DSP CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE NOVEMBER 10 AND REFERRED TO SPECIAL MST COMMITTEE FOR ITS CONSIDERATION AND RECOMMENDATION. WITH COMMITTEE'S REPORT IN HAND, DSP CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COULD ENDORSE NEW POLICY; ALTERNATIVELY IT COULD REFER POLICY TO NEXT DSP CONVENTION, SCHEDULED TENTATIVELY FOR FEBRUARY 1976.

4. COMMENT. KAWAMURA TOLD US LAST SUMMER OF HIS (AND PRESUMABLY SASAKI'S) LONG-STANDING PLAN TO BRING CONFIDENTIAL

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ABOUT DSP SUPPORT OF MST STATUS QUO. THE END OF THE VIETNAM WAR MADE THIS MOVE NOT ONLY POLITICALLY FEASIBLE, BUT HEIGHTENED CONCERN ABOUT JAPAN'S SECURITY WITHIN THE PARTY IMPROVED PROSPECTS. THE DSP MISSIONS TO THE US, KOREA, SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE USSR WERE CONCEIVED WITH THIS GOAL IN MIND. SASAKI'S MEETING WITH SECRETARY SCHLESINGER AND THE US VISIT IN PARTICULAR AND THE HIGH LEVEL WASHINGTON APPOINTMENTS CLEARLY HELPED. THE MID-

OCTOBER CGP (KOMEITO) MODIFICATION OF ITS TREATY POLICY (FROM IMMEDIATE MST ABROGATION TO NEGOTIATED ABROGATION) AND THE VIEW OF SOME DSP MEMBERS THAT SHIFT WOULD IMPROVE DSP ELECTION PROSPECTS ALSO ENCOURAGED THE DSP SHIFT.

5. SMOOTH SAILING FOR THE NEW POLICY IS NOT GUARANTEED, HOWEVER. OPPONENTS OF THE SWITCH WITHIN THE PARTY SAY ANY CHANGE NOW IS LIKELY TO BLUR THE PARTY'S IMAGE IN VOTERS MINDS AND LEAD TO ADVERSE ELECTION RESULTS. NONETHELESS, KAWAMURA TOLD EMBOFF NOVEMBER 12 THAT HE EXPECTS POLICY WILL BE ACCEPTED, PERHAPS EVEN THIS YEAR, ALTHOUGH PROBABLY IN DILUTED FORM.

6. OUR VIEW IS THAT THE PUBLICITY GIVEN THE SYMPOSIUM RECOMMENDATIONS HAS ALREADY CHANGED POPULAR AND MEDIA PERCEPTIONS OF DSP SECURITY POLICY, REGARDLESS OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS' OFFICIAL STATUS. AND IF, AS KAWAMURA EXPECTS, THE NEW POLICY IS ADOPTED, THE LDP WILL HAVE AN ALLY FOR THE FIRST TIME IN SEVERAL YEARS IN ITS SUPPORT OF THE MST AND THE BASING OF US FORCES HERE. HODGSON

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